Text of Episcopal Attack on Eastland as Himself Subversive and Conspirator, See Page 2

I. F. Stone's Weekly

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Extra! Press Probe Proves *Daily Worker* Communist Paper

Washington

For two and a half hours here last Wednesday, the full membership of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee spent the morning listening to a former managing editor of the *Daily Worker*. This was the event of the week in Congress before the President's annual message. The press tables in the huge Senate caucus room were jammed, the hot white lights of the movie camera men were turned on. A small gray-haired man with glasses was the witness. The stories James S. Glaser, now of the *New York Post*, had to tell of his attempts to run a Communist paper were the kind to enliven any newspaperman's evening at a friendly bar. There was the maddening occasion when orders "from upstairs" forced him to play a bazaar as the top line on page one, and the time when nobody could locate a cut of the late William Green of the A.F. of L. because it had been filed away mysteriously under "P." When Glaser angrily demanded to know why Green was put under "P", it was explained that "P" was for "Prominent Labor Fakers."

These were priceless anecdotes for any class in journalism, but one might have wondered whether Senators did not have anything better to do with their time. Glaser, under the pseudonym of "James Casey," edited the *Worker* for less than two years more than 20 years ago. Since then he has been an official of the right wing Social Democratic Federation, and a member of the anti Communist wing in the Newspaper Guild. He said he turned down fabulous offers to expose the Communists after he quit them, and he lashed out at the committee itself and at "degenerate intellectuals, journalistic prostitutes and racketeers who make a business of fighting communism." He wanted to know why he had been "excavated from obscurity" and put on painful exhibition when the committee already knew from an executive session that he had no names to give them. Senators Eastland and Jenner hastened to assure him that he was making a contribution to the U.S.A. and "the free world." But the fact that the *Daily Worker* is Communist and badly slanted is hardly news, nor is it a surprise to hear again that Gerhard Eisler as "Moscow's representative" dictated its policies. As for helping "the free world," Radio Moscow could find no better way to strengthen the feeling in Western Europe that the U.S.A. is slightly wacky than to broadcast a transcript of this whole proceeding deadpan.

One Cheering Revelation

The committee had nothing new to elicit from Glaser as it had nothing new to elicit later that day from John T. McManus and James Aronson of the *National Guardian* who have been heard several times in the past few years invoking the First and Fifth amendments under harassment. There were more obvious and more glamorous targets on the *New York Post* than the copyreader, Glaser, and there were fresher targets

(*Continued on Page Four*)

Editorial

A Call to Action

Now is the time to strike a blow at the witch hunt. Within a few weeks the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and the House Un-American Activities Committee must submit themselves again to a vote in Congress. The Internal Security Subcommittee must obtain a new appropriation and with it a renewal of authority. The Un-American Activities Committee, a standing committee, must obtain a new appropriation. Now is the time by personal letter and by mobilizing every organization you can to bring pressure on your Senators and your Congressmen to vote against renewed appropriations and renewed authority. This is how these excrescences on American life, these imitations of the Inquisition in a secular society, will some day be wiped out. It will take more than one year, but now is the time to begin. Public opinion has grown sufficiently aware of these evils and free traditions can only be preserved on the offensive. McCarthy has already announced that he will take the offensive against new funds for the Hennings subcommittee, the first Senate committee since the pre-war La Follette committee to defend civil liberty. Will we allow the champion of the Malmedy slayers, and his friends, to steal the initiative again? If you can do no more than write your own Senators, do that. But do something this year, now.

There can be no sober discussion in this country of America's and the world's real problems—especially the overriding problem of peace in the H-bomb age—until the witch hunt is ended. The Roman Empire distracted its masses from the duties of citizenship by bread and circus. Here the distraction is by Red and hobgoblin. Here in Washington as Congress opens an ancient technique is again being exploited by a handful of men, some cynical and greedy for power, some living in sick-minded nightmares in which the insignificant American Communist party is blown up into a shadowy monster out of all proportion to reality. Their follies far outweigh those of the Communists; the latter cannot elect a dogcatcher, but the former have a sizeable minority in Congress as leverage with which to undermine the Republic. The Senate Internal Security subcommittee's mandate to hunt "subversive" ideas and the House committee's mandate to hunt "un-American" ideas convert vague epithets into pseudo legal standards. They give these men excuse to turn a Congressional committee into a public pillory in which to disgrace and harass those who do not conform to their often twisted conceptions of what is "American." This is the heart of the evil—the existence of committees of Congress empowered to investigate men's thoughts and to stigmatize as "subversive" or "un-American" those on whom the committees look with suspicion. This is the basis on which to ask your Senators and Congressmen to vote against new funds for them.

It is a scandal that last March only Ellender of Louisiana rose on the Senate floor to question the $260,000

(*Continued on Page Four*)

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Statement by Christian Social Relations Dept. Episcopal Church, N. Y. Diocese

Eastland Accused of "Subversion" and Conspiracy in Miss. Terror

This statement, which no paper carried in full, was issued Dec. 22 by the Director of Public Relations for the Episcopal Bishop of New York. It was adopted by the Christian Social Relations Department of the diocese in voting a resolution asking the Federal government to intervene for the re-establishment of law and order in Mississippi.

"The State of Mississippi today is gripped by a reign of terror. On May 7, the Rev. George W. Lee was killed in Belzoni, Mississippi. No arrests were made. On August 13 Lamar Smith was killed in broad daylight in front of the court house at Brookhaven, Mississippi. The Grand Jury failed to return an indictment. On August 28 Emmett Till, a fourteen-year-old boy, was kidnapped at Money, Mississippi. His body was found three days later in the Tallahatchie River. The two men who took the lad at gun point from his uncle's home were acquitted of murder, and were not even tried for kidnapping. On November 25, Gus Courts was shot in Belzoni, Mississippi, and on December 3 Clinton Melton was killed at Glendora, Mississippi.

"To permit such crimes to continue unpunished in the State of Mississippi is to invite lawlessness throughout the South, and indeed throughout the entire country. It is to create needless, senseless and dangerous tension between our white and Negro citizens.

"Especially reprehensible is the part played by officers of government in inciting lawlessness. Senator Eastland of Mississippi has been quoted as saying, 'On May 17 (the day of the desegregation decision of the U. S. Supreme Court) the Constitution of the United States was destroyed. You are not required to obey any court which passes out such a ruling. In fact, you are obliged to defy it.'

Eastland Called Worse Than Reds

"This is subversion just as real, and, because it comes from a U. S. Senator, far more dangerous than any perpetrated by the Communist Party. It is a challenge not only to the Supreme Court, but to the Federal government, and to the authority of the 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th and 14th Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, which provide safeguards for all our citizens.

"This blatant defiance of government and the reign of terror which stems from it are no longer problems of the State of Mississippi alone. They are problems of all law-abiding people, both North and South. They are problems which concern our churches, our schools, our labor unions, our industralists. They concern all whose security depends upon the just, impartial administration of the law. They concern every American who cherishes the ideals of freedom and fair play set forth in the Declaration of Independence.

How Eastland Disproves Marx

"A trite explanation offered by the ill-informed is that communism is a product of inequalities under our social system. . . . The misery theory of communism runs counter to the actual facts in our country. New York State, for example, has approximately 50 percent of the total Communist Party membership and leads the country. Yet it is second in terms of per capita income as well as per capita school expenditures. . . . Conversely, Mississippi is lowest in the scale of Communist party membership but is also lowest in per capita income. The misery theory of capitalism does not jibe with these figures. . . ."

—Eastland Committee Report on the Communist Party, p. 43.

"The decent people of Mississippi have a right to expect help in this crisis from all their fellow-citizens. Above all, they have a right to expect help from the Federal government, whose Supreme Court has been defied and whose Constitution has been nullified. Yet, to date no person in authority has spoken out boldly against this reign of terror.

Brownell Criticized, Too

"The Governor of Illinois, of whose State Till was a citizen, appealed to the Attorney General for action. The Attorney General refused to intervene, without so much as an expression of regret, let alone of indignation and concern. The reason he gave for inaction, that no violation of Federal Statutes was involved, was singularly unconvincing.

"A conspiracy by private persons or state officials or senatorial or other governmental representatives of a state which has as its objective the nullification of the Supreme Court decision or other provisions in our Constitution for the protection of our citizens, are clear violations of the Federal law. The Federal government has the power and the responsibility to investigate such conspiracies and to prevent the conspirators from obtaining their objectives.

"No positive action has been taken or proposed to meet a situation that is as explosive as dynamite. Will the conscience of the leaders of America—of the government, of industry, of labor, of the churches—permit them to remain silent until the dynamite explodes? Mr. Walter Reuther, in his address at the National Religious and Labor Luncheon on December 13, pointed out the world-wide implications of this situation. The United States *cannot* effectively exercise leadership among the nations of the free world, and cannot consistently criticize the brutality of totalitarian regimes as long as the terror in Mississippi is unchecked."

Warning Against A Revival of "Psychopolitics" Via Eastland and Walter Committees

"If the 1956 campaign is fought over taxes, farm prices, electric power and school construction, the Knowland-Bridges-Eastland-Jenner school will have small roles to play and little ground to stand on. But let the debate revolve around 'Geneva Another Yalta,' a war crisis with Red China (or the appearance of one), or 'subversion' rampant, and the extremists will have regained the national spotlight. . . .

"Early in 1956 several tests will occur in Congress which will determine whether the responsible leadership of both parties is able to handle the extremist members, or whether the resurgent radicals are going to break through. . . . A checklist of these tests includes:

"(1) Whether Chairman Francis Walter and the Democratic leadership will permit the House Un-American Activities Committee to be used as a smear-weapon against the Fund for the Republic. Though Robert M. Hutchins is the apparent target, the real political targets are Paul G. Hoffman, Sen. Clifford P. Case, and the Ford Motor Company—all important factors in Eisenhower Republicanism. . . .

"(2) Whether Senator Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee confines its forthcoming inquiry into Communist influence in the press to legitimate instances, or tries to do what some people already fear will be a hatchet job on the New York Times, the Washington Post and a few other leading papers which have been Eisenhower supporters. . . .

"(3) How Democrats and Republican hold together when the Hennings subcommittee on Constitutional rights makes its expected bid for continued additional existence and funds. This subcommittee, like Sen. Olin Johnston's subcommittee on Government Employees Security, has been the target of bitter and steady attack. . . ."

—The National Committee for An Effective Congress

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The Effect Is To Punish Newspapermen Who Question the FBI Informer System

What The Eastland Report Did Not Tell About The Matusow Case

1. The theory advanced in the Eastland committee report on the Matusow case is that propounded by J. Edgar Hoover. The head of the FBI told the International Association of Chiefs of Police in Philadelphia last October 3 that there was a conspiracy to discredit informers. He said this conspiracy was run "by Communist lawyers, skilled in concealing foul and despicable acts behind the Fifth amendment" and working through "pseudo-liberals."

"These fictitious liberals," he told the chiefs of police, "are the individuals who through insidiously slanted and sly propagandistic writings and reports oppose urgently needed internal security measures; conduct a one-sided campaign to discredit Government witnesses; present the menace of Communism as a myth of hysteria. . . ." By such yardsticks not only most liberal but leading conservative papers are suspect.

2. Against this background the purpose of the Eastland committee in subpoenaing newspapermen becomes clearer. The committee report concludes that Matusow's recantation was "a collective product of the Communist conspiracy . . . to discredit government witnesses, the Department of Justice, the courts, the FBI, and congressional investigative committees, and thus to immobilize the prosecution and investigation of the Communist conspiracy."

The Sly Uses of Ambiguity

The report links with this conspiracy all those newspapermen and newspapers who have dared to question FBI informers. Under the slyly ambiguous heading "The Communist Press Chimes In," the report says of Matusow's turn-about, "The Communist press and radio found highly advantageous editorial expressions of a syndicated column by Stewart Alsop, who had been chosen by the publishers of 'False Witness' to 'break' the story of Matusow's alleged confession. . . . The Communist propaganda apparatus made use of quotations from the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *New York Post*, the *Nation* magazine, the *Progressive* magazine, the *Saturday Review of Literature*, and the *Madison (Wis). Capital-Times* and others. . . ."

3. The report asks the Department of Justice to lay the facts about this "apparent conspiracy to obstruct justice" in the Matusow case before a grand jury. The committee also wants the appropriate New York State authorities to disbar four lawyers, Nathan Witt, Harry Sacher, Mary Kaufman and Robert Z. Lewis. The Eastland committee declares them guilty in the Matusow affair of "an assault upon our legal structure without parallel in its audacity and scope."

Dishonesty by Omission

It is dishonest of the report not to mention (1) that a Federal grand jury in New York has been considering the Matusow case for months without indicting any of these alleged conspirators, (2) that two different Federal district courts have split sharply on whether there was such a conspiracy and (3) that the Supreme Court may soon decide the issue.

The Eastland committee report lays stress on the decision by Judge Thomason in Texas last March. That Judge declined to give Clinton E. Jencks of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union a new trial on the basis of Matusow's turnabout. Jencks was convicted of falsely swearing a non-Communist Taft-Hartley oath affidavit. Judge Thomason sentenced Matusow to three years in jail for contempt, and declared the recantation part of "a carefully thought out scheme to generally discredit by these means the testimony of undercover agents."

But a few weeks later, last April, Federal Judge Dimock on the basis of Matusow's recantation granted a new trial to two of the "second string" Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act. The two are Alexander Trachtenberg and George Blake Charney. Judge Dimock rejected the conspiracy theory of the Matusow recantation. Here is his findings in *U. S. v. Flynn* (130 F. Supp. 416):

"Government counsel," Judge Dimock ruled, "say that the retraction was the lie. They say that persons acting in the interest of the defendants convicted here and of one Jencks convicted in another case in which Matusow testified, took advantage of Matusow's chronic need of money and induced the recantation.

"The charge is that these people paid for the recantation in the guise of paying Matusow for work on the book, 'False Witness' which was to be published under his name. The fact is that it was news of a statement by Matusow that he had been giving false testimony that led these persons to seek his aid. Matusow had made that statement to Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of the Methodist Church on April 27, 1954. Oxnam disclosed it in a speech on June 7.

"Undoubtedly," Judge Dimock continued, "the financial assistance given Matusow was a factor in inducing the actual execution of the affidavit on which this motion [for a new trial] is founded but Matusow's admission that he had been lying came first. That was not induced by friends of these defendants. . . ."

Long Before Matusow

"Langhino Ugolini states that a witness who should retract his hostile evidence should be punished for false witness, but that his evidence should be retained, and have its full effect on the sentence."

—Article, "Inquisition," Encyclopaedia Britannica

Why the Long Delay?

4. One of the puzzling things about this Matusow report is that the printed copy is dated for release last April 6, though it was not finally released until December 31, almost nine months later. The Dimock decision was handed down just 16 days after the original release date. But the only revision made in the report is a two line footnote in agate type on page 61 which says "On April 22, [Alexander] Trachtenberg was granted a new trial by Judge Edward J. Dimock, in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York."

We know from Senator Hennings that the report was released without his knowledge and without waiting for his minority views. One wonders whether the committee was ever fully informed by its staff and whether the release was ever authorized by the full committee.

5. In both the New York and the Texas trials, Matusow claimed that if his original reports to the FBI were brought into court, they would support his recantation. Dimock, before deciding the case, examined the original reports for himself. Judge Thomason declined to do so.

Matusow claimed that if his original FBI reports were obtained by Thomason they would confirm his testimony that he never identified Jencks as a Communist in those reports, and that he told the FBI he did not want to testify in the Jencks trial because "I didn't feel my testimony was honest." In a petition for certiorari just filed on behalf of Jencks the Supreme Court is being asked to decide whether a Judge may properly refuse in such a case to check a recanting informer's story by looking at the original FBI reports for himself.

6. With the Smith Act retrial pending in New York, and an appeal before the Supreme Court, the Eastland committee report and its current newspaper hearings warn newspapermen—and perhaps judges—that they may be pilloried if they dare question the sacred* institution of the FBI informer.

* Mr. Hoover, in his address to the police chiefs, said the use of the confidential informant was "as old as man" and that "the first recorded use" is to be "found in the Old Testament." He discreetly forbore to mention the better known precedent for informing to be found in the New.

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ACLU "Can't See" Danger to Free Press—Upholds Right to Investigate "Subversion"

New York Times Finally Speaks Out—and Hits Back

(*Continued from Page One*)

than the *Guardian's* editors available. The common denominator that links Glaser, McManus and Aronson to the committee's broader purposes is that all three were once employed by the *New York Times*. Of the seven witnesses put on by the Eastland committee for its first day of public hearings on "communism in the newspaper business" all but one were thus linked with the *Times*. The other three were a former member of the Washington Bureau who "told all" (which was not much) to save his job; a copyreader who may have lost his by pleading the Fifth; and a proofreader who also pleaded the Fifth but will probably be saved by his union, the I.T.U. (printers), from the same fate. The committee thereby proved that during the past twenty years three *Times* staff men went over to the radical press and that three present employes were once members of the Communist party.* (The other witness was a poor fellow who once ran a movie house which showed Soviet films, and a bookstore. The committee scored a bull's eye when he admitted in answer to a point blank question that among the publications sold in that bookstore was *I. F. Stone's Weekly*. This was stirring news.)

As we wrote this in the early pre-dawn hours of Thursday in time for our regular press run, the *Washington Post* was delivered on our doorstep with the cheering news that the *New York Times* had finally struck back at the committee in its own defense and in defense of a free press. The committee's purpose, as we show in an earlier story on page three of this issue, is to punish those newspapers and newspapermen who dare to question the use of secret political informers. The Alsop brothers and the *New York Times* have the honor to be the chief targets of the Eastland committee in this respect. Not the least of the mendacities in the committee report on the Matusow case is the false impression it gives, in a long footnote on page 28, of Matusow's affidavit taking back the fantastic charges he made for McCarthy's delectation about the number of Communists on the *Times*. The reader of the report would hardly guess that Matusow retracted those charges, too.

The newspaper business cannot fight back effectively if it takes the mealy-mouthed attitude of the American Civil Liberties Union which tries to keep its franchise as protector of hares while running with the hounds. The ACLU's assertion of the committee's right to investigate "subversion" is made to order for Eastland and Jenner. Its inability to see any "direct evidence" of an attempt to punish the press is eagerly myopic. This whole investigation is fantastic. Never has the radical and non-conformist press reached fewer readers. Never were there fewer Democratic papers. Never has the American press been more solidly Republican, and less independent. Would Eastland and Jenner like a *wholly* one party press, Soviet style? Why all this nonsense about Red infiltration of the press when it's so hard to keep it infiltrated even with a few Democrats?

*** The New York Times thus seems to have considerably fewer ex-Communist employes than the Internal Security subcommittee, and none in so prominent a position as Benjamin Mandel, formerly business manager of the Daily Worker, the committee's research director.**

A Call to Action

(*Continued from Page One*)

given the Internal Security subcommittee. It is a scandal that in the House no voice was raised last February against the $250,000 given the Un-American Activities Committee. The year before at least there were two votes, Celler of New York and Wier of Minnesota, against the $300,000 then voted the House committee. Many who might have voted with them sat silent because there seemed to be no support from their constituents for a vote of protest. Let them hear from you now. Do not let the old evils revive in the wake of McCarthy's deflation; do not let Eastland and Walter take over where he left off. Ask for public hearings in the Senate Rules committee this year before Eastland gets new money and authorization for his committee. Ask for similar hearings in the House Administration before new funds are authorized for the Un-American committee. Ask your Senators and Congressmen this year to speak and vote against the witch hunt. Now is the time to start, and this issue of the Weekly is entirely devoted to ammunition and argument with which you can begin the fight on this, the No. 1 domestic issue of our time.

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